

18 July 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Morning Meeting of 18 July 1969

DD/I briefed on yesterday's meeting of the Review Group on the SALT package. He noted that John J. McCloy was there with Gerard Smith, who hopes to obtain the President's guidance on this matter before the latter's departure for Asia on Tuesday. He reported that a Senior Verification Panel has been established and is scheduled to meet on Monday. The Panel will include the Director, Deputy Secretary Packard, and probably U. Alexis Johnson.

Godfrey noted that as yet there is no cease-fire in the "soccer war" but that one is anticipated, hopefully by noon today.

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Carver reported that most of his time with Secretary Laird yesterday was spent discussing the Vietnam infiltration problem and the Vietnamization of the war.

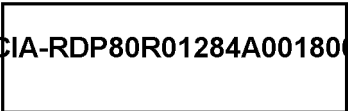
Maury pointed to the item in today's Washington Post on Senator Symington's request for a second closed-door session of the Senate within the next week to ten days. He asked whether it would be all right to provide him with the same treatment given Senator Jackson plus a copy of the fact sheet should he call and request data. The Director made it clear that we should not volunteer to provide the fact sheet should the Senator call and asked to be consulted in the event the Senator does call.

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Bross related that [redacted] has been asked by the Under Secretary of the Air Force to provide him with informal views on the Froehlke report.

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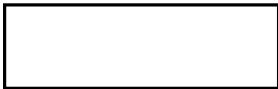
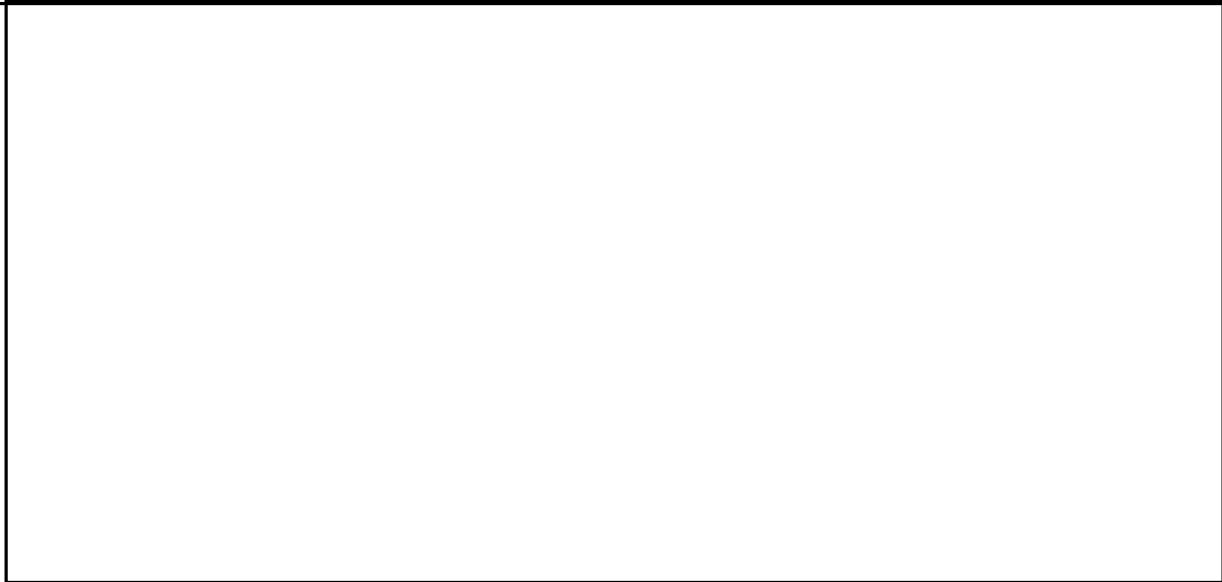


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Senate Hears Data On ABM in Secret

By Warren Unna
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate held an unusual 5¾-hour secret session yesterday during which opponents and backers of the Administration's anti-ballistic missile program disclosed classified Pentagon material in an effort to persuade the few remaining uncommitted Senators.

"Attendance was excellent, attention was rapt but very few, if any, minds were changed," Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) declared as the marathon wound up just before 6 p.m.

Mansfield, a leading ABM opponent, said even before the closed-door debate began that "the odds are slightly favorable, but it is still a toss-up" on whether the Administration gets its requested authorization for preparing to deploy the ABMs on two initial sites in Montana and North Dakota.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Democratic whip and another leading ABM opponent, was equally bearish: "In a matter which is as close as this I should think the persuasive powers of the President are important."

Here is what reportedly happened behind the Senate's closed doors:

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), who originally requested the secret session, began it by producing charts based on information he had obtained from the Pentagon. He said these showed that the Soviets could easily step up their offensive missile production to overwhelm any ABM deployment the United States might undertake to intercept oncoming Soviet missiles.

Symington was assisted in his argument by other ABM opponents, Sens. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), Charles Percy (R-Ill.) and J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.).

Next came the Senate's leading ABM advocate, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a Democrat whom President Nixon originally wanted as his Secretary of Defense.

See ABM, A8, Col. 2

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Senate Hear ABM Data in Secret

ABM, From A1

Jackson produced Pentagon charts, bigger than Symington's and accompanied by colored overlays. He said his information, given him only the preceding night by "The Intelligence Community" underlined the Administration's argument that the United States must go ahead with an ABM because the Soviets are stepping up their offensive capabilities.

Missile Production

Jackson told his audience—estimated by Mansfield at an unusual high of 92 or 93 Senators—that Soviet missile production was now higher than previous estimates and deployment of these missiles higher than the previously published estimated of more than 200.

Jackson also declared that intelligence estimates now have the Soviets producing nuclear submarines at a much higher rate than the six to eight a year previously reported.

When Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) produced lower figures, obtained by intelligence sources as recently as June 25, Jackson countered that the figures already were outdated.

But it was primarily a Symington-Jackson confrontation. The two Democrats are members of the Senate Armed Services Committee and its key CIA watchdog panel.

Jackson was assisted in his argument by Chairman John Stennis (D-Miss.) of the Senate Armed Services Committee, as well as by Sens. John Tower (R-Tex.) and Howard Baker (R-Tenn.).

Stennis took the unusual step of briefing reporters in the Senate Press Gallery before the debate began and anticipated an argument he knew Symington would bring out in the closed session.

Contrary to reports that the Administration was nowhere near ready to proceed from the research to the production stage, Stennis said, six of the nine Spartan missiles tested at Kwajalein atoll in the Pacific performed successfully, two were partially successful and only one was a failure.

Sen. Tower then updated that by saying a tenth Spartan had been tested and was successful. Spartan is one of two missiles that makes up the ABM. The other is the Sprint.

One leading Republican ABM advocates said after the closed-door session that the information disclosed, with its breathtakingly frank discussion of both Soviet capabilities and U.S. defense limitations, "would make juicy reading for the Communists."

New Session Sought

Although Senators who are members of either Armed Services, Foreign Relations or the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy found nothing new in the classified information, Sen. Symington, nonetheless, requested that a second closed-door session be held within the next week to 10

days in order to allow him to counter Jackson's arguments.

Yesterday's session apparently did not succeed in hastening an end to the ABM debate, now completing its second week.

Before it began, Mansfield spoke of calling up compromise amendments for a vote by next week. But after the session Mansfield said that while the amendments may be called up next week, "I am afraid" there will be no vote that soon.

But Sen. Marlow W. Cook (R-Ky.), an ABM opponent, declared: "I'd like to vote today. From here on in it's going to be repetition in the record."

Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah), an ABM backer, said: "I went in as a hawk. I'm still a hawk. I haven't heard anything that will change my mind. And maybe the doves feel the same way."

The uncommitted Senators are Sens. Thomas J. McIntyre (D-N.H.), Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), John J. Williams (R-Del.), Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) and Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.). There also is speculation that Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) is thinking of shifting from opposition to the ABM to going along with the Republican Administration.

The Senate's last secret session was last Oct. 14, also on the ABM.

During the first five years of the Senate, from 1789 until 1794, all sessions were held in secret. After that secret sessions for presidential nominations and the consideration of treaties continued right up until 1929.

Since World War II, however, only six closed sessions have been held.

Sen. Thurmond Raps Opponents of ABM

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), said last night that op-

ponents of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile are "people who don't believe in America, in free enterprise, people who are against our way of life."

Thurmond, who sat in on yesterday's closed Senate debate on deploying the ABM, told 300 Prince George's Young Republicans, "If you knew the latest intelligence of how the Soviets are moving forward and everything there wouldn't be any question in your mind.

The Soviet Union, he said, has more intercontinental ballistic missiles than the United States, twice as many submarines and is building fighters and bombers.

"This poor little ABM — defensive weapon — is being used just to try to stop Nixon," Thurmond said.

Thurmond predicted that the Senate would approve the Nixon Administration plan to deploy the ABM "by two or three votes."

At the conclusion of the meeting, held at the Hampshire Motor Inn in Langley Park, Prince George's, Jay Morris, Young Republican president, argued in vain against a motion approving the ABM. The motion passed by about a 3-to-1 vote ratio.

Nerve Gas Accident

Okinawa Mishap Bares Overseas Deployment Of Chemical Weapons

Leak at U.S. Base Fells 25;
Angry Reaction Expected
At Home, From Japanese

Coup for Red Propaganda?

By ROBERT KEATLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The United States has apparently deployed operational weapons armed with lethal chemical agents as part of its deterrent force overseas.

That conclusion is indicated by an accidental release of deadly VX nerve gas at the U.S. base on Okinawa last week. A container of the gas or a weapon carrying it broke open there, and some 25 persons were hospitalized after exposure to it. Word of the incident has just gotten back to Washington. At a late hour last night, high Defense and other Administration officials were debating what to say about the matter or whether to say anything at all.

Their sensitivity springs from awareness that disclosure of the unsuspected deployment could have broad and adverse repercussions for the U.S. overseas and for the Administration at home. It could create a wave of anti-American feeling abroad just as President Nixon sets forth next week on a planned triumphal tour following the U.S. moon voyagers' Pacific splashdown. More important, it could touch off violent leftist demonstrations in Japan on the eve of Secretary of State William Rogers' visit there to discuss continued U.S. use of Okinawa as the main American strategic base in Asia. The news will almost certainly prompt propagandists in all Communist countries to attack Washington's political and military objectives.

Capitol Hill Controversy

The information seems certain, in addition, to arouse new Congressional opposition to the development of toxic weapons in particular and to the military in general. Word of the Okinawan accident may come at a particularly bad time for advocates of deployment of the Safeguard antiballistic missile, since that project is now being debated by the Senate.

Chemical and bacteriological warfare (CBW) has become highly controversial in Capitol Hill recently. An accident at the Utah testing range killed some 6,400 sheep last year. This spring Americans learned that the Army planned to dispose of some 27,000 tons of "surplus" CBW agents and equipment by transporting them across country by train and dumping them into the Atlantic Ocean off

the New Jersey coast; this plan was widely condemned as dangerous and has since been dropped.

On top of such controversy comes the surprise and troublesome disclosure that such deadly gases are on Okinawa. The island is officially Japanese property; Tokyo retains "residual sovereignty" over the big U.S. Army, Air Force and Marine Corps complex, though the U.S. has nearly complete freedom in managing it. The base also hosts giant B52 bombers and some medium-range missiles deployed as a deterrent against Communist China. Nuclear explosives are kept on the base for possible use by these planes and missiles, and that's a main reason for Japanese opposition to continued American use of the island.

The news reaching Washington about the Okinawa accident is little more than that it happened. There is no detail on how it took place. But it is believed that all the victims were American soldiers and none were Okinawan employees of the U.S. Apparently no deaths occurred, though Pentagon officials will not discuss the matter in detail.

The VX nerve gas that escaped at Okinawa is a mainstay of the U.S. CBW arsenal. It is this agent that drifted outside the Utah testing range last year and killed the sheep in nearby Skull Valley.

A Deadly Gas

VX is one of the deadliest nerve gases in existence, since it persists longer than others when released into the atmosphere. A few milligrams, if inhaled, cause death within seconds; a slightly larger dose on the skin can kill in minutes if certain countermeasures, such as artificial respiration and special drugs, are not taken immediately. In the Okinawan accident, it is believed that countermeasures were quickly taken and that no large area was contaminated.

It is possible that a previous instance of CBW contamination on Okinawa occurred last summer. About 100 Okinawan children became mysteriously ill after swimming near a U.S. base; several were hospitalized with such symptoms as high fevers. American military authorities investigated allegations that chemical agents might have leaked into the sea but told worried Okinawan officials they couldn't find evidence of any such mishap.

An Army technical manual describes the symptoms of nerve gas poisoning as "running nose, tightness of chest, dimness of vision, pinpointing of eye pupils, difficulty in breathing, drooling, excessive sweating, nausea, vomiting, cramps, involuntary defecation and urination, twitching, jerking, staggering, headache, confusion, drowsiness, coma, convulsion, cessation of breathing, death."

Thus far, it has never been disclosed that the U.S. has deployed any lethal chemical agents outside this country. And apparently the Japanese government has never been notified, officially or otherwise, of the presence of nerve gases on Okinawa. The disclosure seems certain to prompt an angry storm of reaction in Japan. Leftists there have demonstrated frequently against the U.S. use of nonlethal tear and nausea gases in South Vietnam, and the use of napalm against North Vietnam. And now experts on Japan are expressing concern about new outbursts in Tokyo against the storage on Okinawa of CBW agents, which are more feared and closer to home than any weapons deployed in Vietnam.

The Army recently told Congress that it spends about \$350 million annually on various phases of CBW research and development. The chemical agents include nerve and other gases that produce various physical effects ranging from temporary incapacitation to death. Biological agents, including germs and viruses, cause diseases, some fatal; current Army research involves studies, for example, of ways to spread plague and other disabling illnesses. But the Okinawa accident did not involve such biological weapons, and there is no reason to believe that any such agents are located there.

Recent protests over the existence of chemical and biological weapons—certain to mount now—have already caused the Senate Armed Services Committee to cut from this fiscal year's budget \$16 million planned for research and development on lethal offensive CBW weapons. Democratic Sen. Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire explained: "Measured against this nation's traditional opposition to the offensive use of such agents, we could not justify research and development expenditures for that purpose."

Though it isn't known just what weapons or gas containers were involved in the Okinawa incident, several ways of delivering CBW agents have been developed by military researchers. These include grenades, shells and small ground-to-ground rockets that would explode on impact, releasing the agents. There are also bombs and airplane-launched rockets; such bombs would probably be triggered just above ground rather than on impact so the CBW agents would cover a large area.

The CBW material the Army recently proposed to sink off the New Jersey coast included 2,660 tons of rockets and 12,322 tons of Air Force bomb clusters, both filled with nerve gas.

Another system involves the use of generators. A CBW generator includes a tank filled with an agent, a source of pressure and a nozzle through which the agent is pumped into the atmosphere—upwind of the target area.

One report says the Army missiles called Corporal and Sergeant were designed at least partly for delivery of CBW agents. Sergeant, it has been claimed, can fire a 1,600-pound payload about 85 miles; according to one estimate, if this missile's warhead were filled with nerve gas and the gas were dispensed by an aerosol spray process, it could kill about one-third of the people in an area one mile in diameter. These missiles are deployed in Western Europe, but it's not known if they are armed with CBW warheads.

Years ago President Franklin Roosevelt vowed the U.S. would never be the first to use chemical or biological weapons in warfare, and this presumably remains official policy. But the Pentagon has consistently opposed efforts to restrict sharply U.S. development of such hardware; military men contend this country must know about ways of devising CBW weapons, if only for deterrent reasons.

The Soviet Union, it is reported, has a large CBW research and development program of its own. Back in 1960, Lt. Gen. A. G. Trudeau, then the U.S. Army's research chief, told Congress that "we know that the Soviets are putting a high priority on development of lethal and nonlethal weapons, and that their weapons stockpile consists of about one-sixth chemical munitions. Russian leaders have boasted that they are fully prepared to use new chemical weapons of great significance, and we know Soviet forces are trained in their use."

A 1960 Army study claims each Soviet division has a "specific unit devoted to the field of chemical warfare." A Russian general was quoted as stating: "Many of our scientists . . . regard research on the actions of poisons and on the development of antidotes to be their patriotic duty."

To justify its CBW activities, the U.S. Army emphasizes the idea of "retaliatory capability as a deterrent." The generals also stress they must know what the offensive capabilities of such weapons are before they can devise defenses. In addition, many military men justify such weapons as being more efficient and much less destructive than nuclear weapons; they emphasize that many CBW agents are only temporarily disabling but not lethal.